Disarmament "Ambush" on Capitol Hill, P. 3

Documentary: From the Southern Regional Council Report Criticizing The President and the FBI, Page 2

I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. X, NO. 43 NOVEMBER 26, 1962 WASHINGTON, D. C. 15 CENTS

A New Proposal for Ensuring Peace*

The narrow straits between Soviet Siberia and the American Aleutians are no more distant, and if anything less desolate, than the Himalayan frontiers between India and China. But in all these years of Soviet-American tension, the border between them has never been the scene of fighting. It is only non-nuclear powers like India and China which indulge in such clashes. The nuclear powers are more careful.

At the United Nations a Brazilian proposal for a denuclearized Latin America has just been withdrawn; it had been hoped that it might bridge the way to a Cuban settlement. Would it not be better—judging by the behavior of the nuclear powers—to try *nuclearizing* those areas of the world still rendered unstable by the possession of conventional weapons only? China will soon be making atom bombs anyway; India is talking of total war and calling for massive aid. Why risk waiting while their conventional war escalates? Why not a Russo-American agreement to outfit both sides as rapidly as possible with thermonuclear weapons? With them in hand, Mao might become as sober as Khrushchev, Nehru as cautious as Kennedy.

As The Bible Predicted

There are, of course, complications. Pakistan would demand nuclear arms, too, if we gave them to India. If we gave them to the Pakistanis, the Russians would have to give them to the Afghans. This would bring nuclear weapons to the gates of the Middle East, where Moscow and Washington would race to see who could give them first to the Arabs while Israel was left to make its own. Eventually everybody would sit peacefully, as the Bible predicted, beneath his own fig tree, with a missile snugly beside him.

Difficulties would still arise. In nuclearizing Latin America, trouble might be encountered in persuading the Russians to take those missiles back to Cuba. The peaceful settlement of disputes among thermonuclear powers also presents problems. The Americans and the Russians solve theirs—as the recent Cuban crisis showed—by a simple rule. Whenever one side gets exasperated enough to reach for the button that may mean extinction, the other side backs down.

This, however, cannot be done too often; it makes some people nervous. Yet disputes requiring peaceful settlement arise all the time. For instance, only a few weeks ago we forced the Russians by this peaceful means to withdraw their missiles. But now a new dispute has arisen over the Il-28 bombers. Everybody admits these are obsolete. But "it is felt here," i.e. in Washington, as Chalmers Roberts reported in the *Washington Post* (Nov. 20) that while the bombers are not "of major military importance" if they are not removed "the U.S. will seem to have accepted a diplomatic backdown." Should we threaten again to press the button?

A way could be found to prevent too frequent resort to the button. An international regulatory commission could be set up, presided over by some respected savant of thermonuclear war. (Who better than Herman Kahn?). This commission would establish a rationing, or time limit, system. Thus it might decide that no nation could lawfully threaten extinction more than once in any six month period.

* * *

Footnote on Two Prickly Satellites: The U.S. first supported and then shelved the Brazilian resolution at the UN for a nuclear free Latin America after Castro moved to include Puerto Rico and the Canal Zone in it. Castro's inclusion of Puerto Rico was demagogy, not diplomacy. It follows from the Castroite line that Puerto Rico must be "liberated." The Brazilians, who have been trying hard to help Castro, must have been exasperated. It is as if he were trying to make settlement impossible, though the next step—an oil blockade —would bring the collapse of the Cuban economy. One of the beneficiaries of Fidel's obduracy was Adenauer. In the House of Commons Nov. 12 Labor Party leaders were already citing the Brazilian resolution as precedent for something like the Rapacki Plan to denuclearize Central Europe. This would end Germany's chances of getting nuclear weapons. Adenauer fears detente anywhere until that aim is achieved. The tougher Fidel is, the better Adenauer likes it. *9 a.m. Nov. 20*

With Three Hand Grenades

"If the FBI had failed to smash a Cuban plot geared to spreading death, terror and destruction in the Metropolitan Area, Government sources said the three arrested saboteurs planned to:

"Destroy national defense materials, sites and utilities in New York City. . . . Blow up gasoline and oil refineries. . . . The expected result . . . $100,000,000 worth of damage. . . . Plant incendiary bombs in . . . New York City's . . . largest department stores. . . . Train 10 other pro-Castroites in the art of sabotage. These 10 were already undergoing training clandestinely. . . . The expected result: a stepped up program of sabotage that in time might completely paralyze the city. The blowing up of bridges and subway facilities, for example, might have been part of the plot for the future.

"In order to accomplish these acts the saboteurs had the following arsenal:

"Six French delayed action incendiary devices; 12 acid type fuses; three US Army hand grenades; two pistols, three loaded pistol clips; instructions in French and English [not Spanish?]. . . .

—New York Journal-American, Nov. 18.

*** Written before the President's press conference of Nov. 20 to meet an early Thanksgiving deadline.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Report on Albany, Ga., Proposes New Civil Rights Federal Police Agents to Replace FBI

President Criticized for Failing to Give Moral Leadership in the South

The deepening Mississippi crisis, and the prospect of worse to come in Alabama, gives special interest to the moving report just released by the respected Southern Regional Council (5 Forsyth St., W., Atlanta 3, Ga.) on the militant struggle of the Negroes in Albany, Ga., for their rights. It was written by Howard Zinn, professor of history and social science at Spelman College and its concluding observations on the weaknesses of the FBI and the President apply everywhere in the South:

"There is a considerable amount of distrust among Albany Negroes for local members of the FBI. 'They're a bunch of racists,' a young Negro told me bitterly. FBI men appear to Albany Negroes as vaguely-interested observers of injustice, who diffidently write down complaints and do no more. With all the clear violations by local police of constitutional rights, with undisputed evidence of beatings by sheriffs and deputy sheriffs, the FBI has not made a single arrest on behalf of Negro citizens. The one arrest made by the FBI in connection with the Albany situation came in early September [1962], and this when an FBI man himself was attacked by a white man near the site of a burned church.

FBI and Cops Too Close

"In its 1961 volume, *Justice*, the Commission on Civil Rights implied that the FBI may be fundamentally incapable of enforcing the civil rights of American citizens, and suggested the possibility of 'a new administrative arrangement within the Dept. of Justice to ease the problem of FBI agents having to investigate police officers with whom they work daily on other cases.'

"One solution might be the creation of a special corps of federal agents—similar to the T-men used by the Treasury Dept.—for the sole purpose of enforcing federally guaranteed constitutional rights in many parts of the country.

"As for the President, he could play, but so far has not played, a key role in crises such as Albany. The Commission of Civil Rights last year called for 'the exertion of leadership by the President.'

"President Kennedy's first substantive public statement came after eight months of trouble in Albany when, responding to a question at his Aug. 1, 1962, press conference, he called the situation 'unsatisfactory', declared he could not understand why Albany city officials would not negotiate with Negroes and said: 'We are going to attempt as we have in the past to try to provide a satisfactory solution for the protection of the constitutional rights of the people of Albany, and we will continue to do so.' The trouble with this latter statement was that 'in the past' the national government had done extremely little, and if its future attempts were to be of the same magnitude, this was a puny promise indeed.

"In another press conference on Sept. 14, 1962, again in response to a question, President Kennedy strongly denounced the burning of the Negro churches in Lee and Terrell Counties. This was commendable. But it also indicates the level of tolerance at which our leaders—and perhaps most white Americans—operate. They will be aroused by open violence, particularly against places of worship (Governor Vandiver of Georgia offered a $250 reward for the apprehension of the arsonists). But they will not be made sufficiently indignant by mass jailings, by the deprivation of free speech and assembly, by beatings and intimidation, by the perpetuation of segregation. The nation as a whole—not only the President—needs to expand its capacity for outrage.

"Only once in the Albany troubles did the national administration show a real burst of energy; that was when Martin Luther King was jailed on July 10. The President asked for a report, the Attorney General got busy, and the next day King was out of jail. But there was no such deep concern for the hundreds of ordinary citizens in Albany who went to jail for basically the same reason. Special favors to distinguished individuals are too easy a substitute for genuine assistance to troubled groups. Jackie Robinson, who last summer received elaborate greetings from the President on the occasion of his election to the Baseball Hall of Fame, noted the Albany situation and wrote, 'I'd rather have freedom than flowers'."

Just One of the World's Most Powerful People

"Perhaps there is a quality of harshness in the report. If so, it may come from some of the things I heard and saw. I recall particularly driving from dirt road onto dirt road deep into the cotton and peanut land of Lee County to talk to James Mays, a teacher and farmer. He showed me the damage done by 30 bullets which, hours before, in the middle of the night, had been fired through doors and windows and crashed into the walls around the heads of 19 sleeping persons, most of them children. With the coming of dawn he had quickly lettered a sign of protest and stood with it out on the main road to Leesburg in front of a Negro school. It was clear that although he was a member of a nation whose power stretched around the globe and into space, James Mays was on his own."

—Howard Zinn's postscript to his report on Albany.

What the Federal Government Could Do To End Police State Practices in Albany

"1. Begin immediate prosecution under Section 242 of local officials who have deprived Negroes of their constituional rights. Such trials, since they involve misdemeanors, do not even require grand jury indictments. . . . The FBI has in its hands piles of affidavits from Albany citizens—accumulated over a period of nine months—testifying to violations of Federal laws. . . .

"2. Station in the area a substantial number of Federal agents to protect citizens from intimidation, beating and false arrest. Such agents should not confine themselves to standing by and taking notes . . . but should have the authority to make arrests on the spot.

"3. Go into Federal court and ask for injunctions to prevent local officers from a) enforcing segregation, and b) interfering with peaceful assembly, picketing and speech. . . .

"4. The President should address himself directly to the people of Albany, white and Negro, speaking forthrightly. . . .

"5. There is a procedure outlined in the U.S. Attorney's Manual, Title 10, Civil Rights Division, which says that where there is insufficient evidence for Federal prosecution but 'repetitive civil rights violations' exist, the U.S. Attorney may initiate a mediative conference 'with responsible local officials. . . .'

"6. The President should refuse to appoint segregationist Federal judges. Judgeships left vacant are preferable to those filled for life by men who, on their public records, are opponents of racial equality.

"7. The Commission on Civil Rights might well investigate the Albany situation and make appropriate recommendations. There are a hundred potential Albanys in the Deep South.

"These proposed actions require boldness, imagination, vigorous initiative — precisely those qualities that were promised by Mr. Kennedy in his campaign for the Presidency. As yet, however, no new Frontiers have been carved out in the social wilderness which surrounds Albany."

—From the Conclusions to the Zinn Report on Albany.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Goldwater and Thurmond Join Hands With Symington and Jackson in Hearings

A New Sounding Board for Military-Industrial Complex Against Disarmament

Too little attention was paid the disarmament hearings just released by the Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee of the Senate Military Affairs Committee. These were held behind closed doors in September. Their significance is that this subcommittee, a frequent sounding board for the military-industrial complex, is moving into the field of disarmament, and can do a great deal of damage just when hopes of agreement are beginning to rise again. Chairman Stennis announced that these were the first of a series, and claimed jurisdiction because Military Affairs is responsible "for matters affecting the size, composition and equipage of the Armed Forces." He said the committee wanted to know whether technology had advanced to the point where "rigid and foolproof" inspection was possible. "We cannot afford a reckless gamble," he said, "with our national security and survival." The hearings opened with Senators Goldwater and Thurmond as invited guests and with Senators Symington and Jackson on the panel. The course of questioning showed the two rightists and the two Democratic "liberals", both mouthpieces of the aviation lobby, were making common cause against disarmament.

Humphrey's Subcommittee Moribund

Pressure is needed to reactivate Humphrey's disarmament subcommittee. For three years, from 1955 to 1958, it was a special subcommittee, with membership drawn from the committees on Foreign Relations, Military Affairs and Atomic Energy. Fulbright was hostile, wanted disarmament kept within his Foreign Relations committee. In 1958, he won his fight to make disarmament a subcommittee of Foreign Relations. In that new status, it soon lost its separate offices and separate staff. It has now become pretty much moribund. Humphrey is still chairman and uses it occasionally as a sounding board. But between Humphrey's duties as whip and the indifference of Fulbright and the Foreign Relations staff, the disarmament subcommittee has become a stepchild. If the Stennis subcommittee is allowed to take over, we will have an anti, rather than a pro, disarmament subcommittee in the field.

It is indicative that at the very beginning of the first day's questioning, Senator Goldwater (an Air Force Reserve Brigadier General as Thurmond is an Army Reserve Major General) wanted to know whether the Chief of Staff, U.S. Air Force, was consulted on that portion of the U.S. disarmament plan which calls for reduction of strategic weapons delivery systems. "I believe he was, sir," was the reply of Paul H. Nitze, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs. Goldwater was not satisfied with the reply, and there were signs that in future hearings this subcommittee would try to air military, particularly Air Force, dissatisfaction with Kennedy disarmament proposals.

Symington's questions showed the earmarks of Tellerite inspiration. He seemed to think the American people were too worried about fallout. "One of the great experts in this field" told him "that damage from all the fallout to date to human beings would be less than if a family took a vacation in the high Rockies of Colorado." He also came prepared with an anonymous memorandum on how easily underground tests could be hidden in the soil called alluvium.

Last year the Tellerites were explaining how easily tests could be hidden in salt or granite. Now that it has turned out that these mediums magnify instead of muffling underground shots, they are talking of alluvium. Wm. C. Foster, director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, explained that when shots are set off in alluvium "there develops a tremendous depression which is visible from the surface quite readily." In addition a memorandum from the ACDA put into the record at pages 49-51 said a seismic station in Canada with only one seismometer, had been able 2700 miles away to detect "several nuclear explosions of the order of 5 kilotons in Nevada alluvium."

When Symington brought up Teller's "big hole" theory of concealment, Foster said preparation of such a hole is expensive and difficult "as is evidenced by the fact that we have been trying for 3 years to get one to prove the theory." Thurmond and Jackson's questions indicated they placed their hope of blocking a nuclear test ban agreement in Chinese Communist recalcitrance. Nitze, Foster, his scientific assistant Franklin Long, and Secretary Rusk did an excellent job of advocacy at these first hearings. They were the only witnesses. But watch for trouble when the military and the Teller crowd have their inning.

Why Should Moscow Agree If It's Behind?

Sen. THURMOND (D. S.C.): Do you really feel deep down in your heart, Mr. Secretary, that the Communists are going to agree to stop testing until they feel they are ahead or they feel testing can be done through some other Communist nation so that they feel they can get ahead or stay ahead?

Secretary of State RUSK: I am sure that they understand beyond any doubt whatever that they could not use any other nation to test in their place because the treaty would be immediately dissolved if any other nation tested. I think there may come a point where the Soviets would consider that it is in their interest to stop testing. They are concerned, I suspect, about how to do everything that they want to try to do with the resources they have available. When you look out ahead as to what the next steps are in this nuclear field and missile field, there are steps that already tax the capacity of the mind of man, and they involve enormous resources, new resources, additional resources committed to the anti-missile missile; the missile that can penetrate the anti-missile missile, and on and on, a qualitative race that means many tens of billions of dollars of investment of a rather precious and chancy result in terms of what may come out of it. Yet if the arms race goes on, we will have to do it, and they will have to do it.

—Newly released Senate Military Affairs testimony.

Why The U.S. Has Most to Gain From A Final End of All Nuclear Testing

Wm. C. FOSTER (Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency): Even though any test ban would entail some risk of cheating by the Soviet Union, we believe that risk is outweighed by the dangers to our security resulting from a continuation of unlimited testing.

Paul H. NITZE (Ass't Sec'ty of Defense for International Security Affairs): If testing continues by both sides, there would be further increases in efficiency of the higher yield warheads. The U.S. advantage in small weight-high yield weapons will undoubtedly diminish. . . . Overall, the trend, with unlimited testing, will be toward equality in major nuclear forces between the U.S. and the USSR. . . . More important, both sides might develop the pure fusion weapon which could be very much cheaper in nuclear material than present weapons and free the USSR from her dependence on fisssionable materials for weapons. . . .

—Disarmament Hearings Before Senate Armed Services held in September and rleased in censored form Nov. 16.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mystery: How Did Department Stores, Wall Street and Oil Refineries Get Into the Cuban Plot?

New York Press (Except for The Times) Whoops Up Sabotage Story

The *New York Times* in its news columns treated the Cuban sabotage arrests with astringency and restraint. But the other Sunday (Nov. 18) papers outdid themselves in melodrama. The *New York Herald-Tribune* pulled out the stops in its description of what the saboteurs were going to do, "Set a fast-speeding fire into Wall St. . . . burn and kill and maim, strike in the daylight and the dark. It sounds like Middle Europe, or a bad novel. . . ." It did indeed. The New York *Journal-American,* as can be seen from our front page box, whacked itself over the head with a resounding anti-climax; how were the notoriously inefficient Cubans going to accomplish so much with six bombs and three hand grenades? Next day it carried an eight column picture of "N.J. Refineries . . . Target of Saboteurs" across page one. But its story, after asking dramatically, "Could Cuban saboteurs wreck one of those big oil refineries?" had to answer, "they probably would not succeed." It sounded regretful.

J. Edgar Identifies Them

The press handling was juiced up by the Department of Justice. The very wording seemed to reflect an inner office tussle among the publicity-conscious prima donnas. The first paragraph said "Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy has announced that FBI agents. . . ." The second paragraph said "J. Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI, identified the arrested persons as. . . ." He was in a hospital with a minor operation. About all he could identify was the man who wrote the press release. The Federal complaint said that the arrested men conspired to gather information concerning U.S. military installations but for some reason espionage was not charged. Perhaps it was too commonplace.

The charge was conspiracy to obtain "incendiary devices . . . for the purpose of injuring and destroying national defense materials." * Somehow this, too, wasn't dramatic enough for the papers. Somehow department stores got into the picture, perhaps because our CIA was once accused of throwing incendiary bombs into Havana department stores, or because it just sounded nice and gory. The oil refinery angle was pure gravy, unplanned, the result according to Milton Bracker's follow-up story in the *New York Times* Nov. 19 of a telephone call to the big Esso Bayway Refinery, "Either the caller or the receiver of the call or both, had misinterpreted the announcement of the arrests." In all other papers the refineries continued to be endangered.

It is not difficult to imagine how all this looked to a UN delegate from another country: The TV thriller handling of the story, the anxiety of the secret police chief to get in on the act, the roughing up of a diplomat, the denial of immunity though he travelled here on a diplomatic visa we had issued, the fomenting of hysteria about Cuban refugees.

No one, of course, dared comment that when our CIA does such things in other countries, we glorify them in slick magazine stories. And of course no one questioned the charges, or suggested waiting until the evidence was in. They're Castroites, aren't they? Isn't that crime enough?

Why Bother Waiting For Trial?

". . . in typical Communist fashion, the Castro forces have started to export terror."

—New York Times editorial, Nov. 19.

"On the basis of the evidence so far, this was no crack-brained or isolated scheme. . . . The plot was not aimed exclusively against military or naval installations. . . . It was, instead, designed to strike directly at the populace, by setting off a grenade in a department store, starting a fire in Wall St., or blowing up an oil refinery on the Jersey shore in full view of horrified Manhattanites."

—New York Herald-Tribune editorial, Nov. 19.

'The extent of the monstrous terror which Castro planned to unloose on the 16,000,000 people of the metropolitan area shocks the imagination."

—New York Journal-American editorial, Nov. 19.

"The Castro government is fantastically ill-advised if it believes such tactics can help. . . . Disclosure of the arson and sabotage plans of that regime can only silence the voices of restraint."

—New York Post editorial, Nov. 19.

*** Just to make sure to get them on something if the wilder charges don't stick they were also charged with being unregistered foreign agents.**

Free Copies This Or Any Other Issue Sent Free If You Send Stamped Self-Addressed LONG Envelopes

I. F. Stone's Weekly, 5618 Nebraska Ave., N. W. Washington 15, D. C.

Please renew (or enter) my sub for the enclosed $5:

Name .....

Street .....

City .....**Zone**.....**State**.....

11/26/62

Enter gift sub for $2 (6 mos.) or $4 (1 yr.) additional:

(To) Name .....

Street .....

City .....**Zone**.....**State**.....

Shall we send gift announcement? Yes ☐ No ☐

I. F. Stone's Weekly
5618 Nebraska Ave., N. W.
Washington 15, D. C.

NEWSPAPER

Second class postage paid at Washington, D. C.

I. F. Stone's Weekly. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Published every Monday except during August and the last Monday in December and the first in January at 5618 Nebraska Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C. An independent weekly published and edited by I. F. Stone; Circulation Manager, Esther M. Stone. Subscription: $5 in the U. S.; $6 in Canada; $10 elsewhere.
Air Mail rates: $15 to Europe; $20 to Israel, Asia and Africa.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED